THE ILL Effects of Animosities AMONG PROTESTANTS IN ENGLAND DETECTED:

AND

The necessity of Love unto, and Confidence in one another, in order to withstand the Designs of their Common Enemies, laid open and enforced.

Every Kingdom divided against it self, is brought to desolation; and every city or house divided against it self, shall not stand. Matth. xii. 25.

Dum pugnant singuli, universi vincuntur.
Tacit.

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IT is long since the Court of *England*, under the Authority of the late King and his Brother, was embarked in a design of subverting the Protestant Religion, and of introducing and establishing *Papery*. For the two Royal Brothers being in the time of their Exile seduced by the Caresses and importunities of their Mother, allured by the promises and favours of Popish Princes, and being wheedled by the Crafts and Arts of Priests and Jesuits, who are cunning to deceive, and knew how to prevail upon persons, that were but weakly established in the Doctrine, and wholly strangers to the practice and power of the Religion they were tempted from; they not only abjured the Reformed Religion, and became reconciled to the Church of *Rome*, but by their example, and the influence which they had over those that depended upon them both for present subsistence and future hopes, they drew many that accompanied them in their Banishment, to renounce the Doctrine, Worship, and Communion of the Church of *England*, though in the War between *Charles* I. and the Parliament, they had pretended to fight for them in equal conjunction with the Prerogatives of the Crown. So that upon the Restoration in the year 1660. they were not only moulded and prepared themselves for promoting the desires of the Pope and his Emissaries, but they were furnished with a stock of Gentlemen out of whom they might have a supply of Instruments both in Parliament and elsewhere, to cooperate with, and under them, in the methods that should be judged most proper and subservient to the extirpation of Protestancy, and the bringing the Nation again into a servitude to the Triple Crown. And besides the Obligations, that the Principles of the Religion to which they had revolted, laid them under for eradicating the Established Doctrine and Worship, they had bound themselves unto it, by all the promises and Oaths, which persons are capable of having proscribed unto and exacted of them.

Nor can any Now disbelieve his late Majesties having lived and died a Papist, who hath either heard what he both said and did, when under the prospect of approaching death, and past hope of Acting a Part any longer on the present Stage, or who have seen and read the two Papers left in his Closet, which have been since published to the World, and attested for Authentick by the present King. And had we been so just to our selves, as to have examined the whole course of his Reign, both in his Alliances abroad, and his most important Counsels and Actions at home, or had we hearkned to the reports of those who knew him at *Collen* and in *Flanders*, we had been long ago convinced of what Religion he was. Nor were his many repeated protestations of his Zeal for Protestancy, but in order to delude the Nation, till insensibly as to us, and with safety to himself, he had overturned the Religion which he pretended to own, and had introduced that which he inveighed against. And while with the highest asseverations he disclaimed the being what he really was, and with most sacred and tremendous Oaths professed the being what he was not, his Religion might in the mean time have been traced through all the signal occurrences of his Government, and have been discerned written in Capital Letters, through all the material affairs wherein he was engaged from the day he ascended the Throne, till the hour he left the World. His entring into two Wars against the *Dutch*, without any provocation on their part, or ground on his, save their being a Protestant State; his being not only conscious unto, but enterposing his commands, as well as encouragements, for the burning of *London*; his concurrence in all the parts of the Popish Plot, except that which the Jesuits, with a few others, were involved in against himself; his stifling that Conspiracy, and delivering the *Roman* Catholicks from the dangers into which it had cast them; his being the Author of so many forged Plots, which he caused to be charged

upon Protestants; his constant Confederacies with *France*, to the dissobliging his people, the betraying of *Europe*, the neglect of the Reformed in that Kingdom, and the encouraging the design carried on against them for their extirpation; his entailing the Duke of *York* upon the Nation, contrary to the desires and endeavours of three several Parliaments, and that not out of love to his Person, but affection to Popery, which he knew that Gentleman would introduce and establish: all these, besides many other things which might be named, were sufficient evidences of the late Kings Religion, and of the design he was ingaged in for the Subversion of ours. So that it would fill a sober person with amazement, to think that after all this there should be so many sincere Protestants and true *Englishmen*, who not only believed the late King to be of the Reformed Religion, but with an insatiableness thirsted after the blood of those that durst otherwise represent him. And had it not been for his receiving Absolution and Extreme Unction from a Popish Priest at his death, and for what he left in Writing in the two Papers found in his *Strong Box*, he would have still passed for a Prince who had lived and died a Cordial and Zealous Protestant, and whosoever had muttered any thing to the contrary, would have been branded for a Villain and an execrable person. But with what a scent and odour must it recommend his memory to them, to consider his having not only lived and died in the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, in contradiction to all his publick Speeches, solemn Declarations and highest Asseverations to his people in Parliament, but his participating from time to time of the Sacrament, as Administred in the Church of *England*, while in the interim he had Abjured our Religion, stood reconciled to the Church of *Rome*, and had obliged himself by most sacred Vows and was endeavouring by all the Frauds and Arts imaginable to subvert the Established Doctrine and Worship, and set up Heresie and Idolatry in their room. And it must needs give them an abhorrent Idea and Character of Popery, and a loathsom representation of those trusted with the Conduct and Guidance of the Consciences of Men in the *Roman* Communion, that they should not only Dispence with, and indulge such Crimes and Villanies, but proclaim them sanctified and meritorious from the end which they are calculated for, and levelled at.

And for his dear Brother, and renowned Successor, who now possesseth the Throne, I suppose his most partial Admirers, who took him for a Prince, not only merciful in his Temper, and imbued with all gracious inclinations to our Laws, and the Rights of the Subject, but for one Orthodox in his Religion, and who would prove a Zealous Defender of the Doctrine, Worship, and Discipline of the Church as Established by Law; are by this time both undeceived, and filled with resentments for his having abused their credulity, deceived their expectations, and reproached all their gloryings and boastings of him. For as it would be now the greatest affront they could put upon the King, to question his being of the *Roman* Communion, or to detract from his Zeal for the introduction of Popery, notwithstanding his own antecedent protestations, as well as the many Statutes in force for the preservation of the Reformed Religion; so I must take the liberty to tell them, that his Apostacy is not of so late a Date, as the World is made commonly to believe. For though it was many years concealed, and the contrary pretended and dissembled; yet it is most certain that he Abjured the Protestant Religion, soon after the Exilement of the Royal Family, and was reconciled to the *Romish* Church at St. *Germains* in *France*. Nor were several of the then suffering Bishops and Clergy ignorant of this, though they had neither the Integrity nor Courage to give the Nation and Church warning of it. And within these five years there was in the custody of a very worthy and honest Gentleman, a Letter written to the late Bishop of *D.* by a Dr. of Divinity, then attending upon the Royal Brothers, wherein

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the Apoſtacy of the then Duke of *York* to the Sea of *Rome* is particularly related, and an account given how much the Ducheſs of *Tremoville* (who without being her ſelf obſerved) had heard the Queen Mother glorying of it, bewailed it as a diſhonor to the Royal Family, and as that which might prove of pernicious conſequence to the Proteſtant Intereſt. But tho the old Queen privately rejoiced and triumphed in it, yet ſhe knew too well what diſadvantage it might be both to her Son, and to the Papal Cauſe in *Great Britain*, to have it at that ſeaſon communicated and divulged .Thereupon it remained a Secret for many years,and by vertue of a Diſpenſation, he ſometimes joyned in all Ordinances with thoſe of the Proteſtant Communion. But for all the art, hypocriſie and ſacrilege, by which it was endeavoured to be concealed, it might have been eaſily diſcerned, as manifeſting it ſelf in the whole courſe of his Actions. And at laſt his own zeal, the importunity of the Prieſts, and the cunning of the late King, prevailing over Reaſons of State, he withdrew from all Acts of Fellowſhip with the Church of *England*. But neither that, nor his refuſing the *Teſt* enjoyned by *Law* for diſtinguiſhing Papiſts from Proteſtants, tho thereupon he was forced both to reſign his Office of Lord High Admiral, and to ſtand excluded from the Houſe of Lords; nor his declining the Oath which the Laws of *Scotland* for the ſecuring a Proteſtant Governor, enjoyn to be taken by the High Commiſſioner; nor yet ſo many Parliaments having endeavoured to get him excluded from Succeſſion to the Crown,upon the account of having revolted to the Sea of *Rome*, and thereby become dangerous to the eſtabliſhed Religion, could make impreſſion upon a willfully deluded and obſtinate ſort of Proteſtants, but in defiance of all means of Conviction, they would perſuade themſelves, that he was ſtill a zealot for our Religion, and a grand Patriot of the Church of *England*. Nor could any thing undeceive them,till upon his Brothers death he had openly declared himſelf a *Roman* Catholick, and afterwards in the fumes and raptures of his victory over the late Duke of *Monmouth*,had diſcovered and proclaimed his intentions of overthrowing both our Religion and our Laws. Yea,ſo cloſely had ſome ſealed up their Eyes againſt all Beams of Light, and hardened themſelves againſt all evidences from Reaſon and Fact, that had it pleaſed the Almighty God to have proſpered the Duke of *Monmouth*'s Arms in the Summer 85. the preſent King would have gone off the Stage, with the reputation among them of a Prince tender of the Laws of the Kingdom, and who notwithſtanding his own being a Papiſt, would have preſerved the Reformed Religion, and have maintained the Church of *England* in all her Grandeur and Rights. And tho his whole life had been but one continued Conſpiracy againſt our Civil Liberties and Privileges, he had left the Throne with the Character and under the Eſteem of a Gentleman, that in the whole courſe of his Government would have regulated himſelf by the Rules of the Conſtitution, and the Statutes of the Realm.

Now among all the Methods fallen upon by the Royal Brothers, for the undermining and ſubverting ou Religion and Laws, there is none that they have purſued with more ardor, and wherein they have been more ſucceſful to the compaſſing of their deſigns, than in their dividing Proteſtants, and alienating their Affections, and imbittering their Minds from and againſt one another. And had not this lain under their proſpect, and the means of effecting it appeared eaſie, they might have been Papiſts themſelves, while in the mean time they had been diſpenſed with to proteſt and ſwear their being of the Reformed Religion, and they might have envied our Liberties, and bewailed their Reſtriction from Arbitrary and Deſpotical Power; but they never durſt have entertained a thought of ſubverting the eſtabliſhed Religion, or of altering the Civil Government, nor would they ever have had the boldneſs to have attempted the introducing and erecting Popery and Tyranny in their room.

And whoſoever ſhould have put them upon reducing the Nation to the Church of *Rome*, or upon rendring the Monarchy unlimited and independent on the Law, would have been thought to have laid a ſnare for expoſing the Papiſts to greater ſeverities, than they were obnoxious unto before, and to have projected the robbing the Crown of the Prerogatives which belong unto it by the Rules of the Conſtitution, and to which it was ſo lately reſtored. And the deſpair of ſucceeding, would have rendred the Royal Brothers deaf to all importunities from *Romiſh* Emiſſaries, and Court Minions. Neither the promiſes and Oaths which they had made and taken beyond Sea to introduce Popery, nor their ambition to advance themſelves beyond the reſtraint of Laws, and the Controll of Parliaments, would have prevailed upon them to have encountred the hazards and difficulties, which in caſe of the Union of *Engliſh* Proteſtants, muſt have attended and enſued upon attempts and endeavours of the one kind and of the other. Or ſhould their beloved Popery, and their own biggottedne's in the *Romiſh* Superſtition, have ſo far tranſported them beyond the bounds of wiſdom and diſcretion, as to have appeared poſſeſſed with an intention of Subverting the Proteſtant Religion, and of enſlaving the Nation to the Superſtition and Idolatry of *Rome*, they would have been made ſoon to underſtand. That the Laws which make it Treaſon to own the juriſdiction of the Pope, or to ſeduce the meaneſt ſubject to the Church of *Rome*, were not enacted in vain, and that thoſe as well as many more made for the ſecurity of the Proteſtant Religion, and to prevent the growth and introduction of Popery, were not to be dallied and plaid withal. Or ſhould they have been ſo far infatuated and abandoned of all underſtanding, as out of a fooliſh and haughty affectation of being Abſolute, to have attempted the alteration of the Civil Government, they would have been immediately and unanimouſly told, that the people have the ſame Right to their Liberties, that the King hath to the Prerogatives of the Crown. And if they would not have been contented with what belongs unto the Prince by the Common and Statute Laws of the Realm, but had invaded the Priviledges reſerved unto the Subject: they would have been made to know, that they might not only be withſtood in what they ſtrove to Uſurp contrary to *Magna Charta*, *Petition of Right*, and other Laws of the Kingdom, but that thereby they forfeited, and might be diſſeized of what either appertained unto the Crown by fundamental Agreements, or hath been ſince ſettled upon the Monarch by Statute Laws. Nor could any thing have emboldned his late Majeſty and the preſent King, to enterpriſes of the one kind or the other, but the proſpect of begetting a miſunderſtanding, jealouſie, and rancour among Proteſtants, and thereby both of making them inſtrumental to the ruin of one another, and contributary to the loſs of *Engliſh* Liberty and the Reformed Religion, which they equally value and eſteem, and to the ſetting up Popery and Tyranny, which the one deteſteth and abhorreth no leſs than the other.

Though all *Engliſh* Proteſtants have ever been at an accord in all the Eſſentials and Vitals of Religion, yet from the very beginning of the Reformation, there have been differences among them concerning Eccleſiaſtical Government and Diſcipline, and about Forms, Rites, and Ceremonies of Worſhip. And had they conſulted either their Duty to God, or the common intereſt of Religion, they might have found ways either for removing the occaſions of them, or they ought to have lived together as Brethren, notwithſtanding the differences which were among them in thoſe things. But how much wiſer are the Children of this World, than thoſe of the Kingdom of God and of Jeſus Chriſt. For though the differences amon the Papiſts do far exceed ours, both in their number and in the importancy of thoſe things wherein they diſagree, yet they do mutually tolerate and bear with one another. The

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matters wherein they differ, are neither made the Terms of their Church Communion, nor the grounds of mutual Excommunications and Perſecutions.

But alas! one party among us hath been always endeavouring to cut or ſtretch others to their own ſize, and have made thoſe things which themſelves ſtile indifferent, both the Qualifications for admiſſion to the Paſtoral Office, and the conditions of Fellowſhip in the Ordinances of the Goſpel. Nor is it to be expreſſed, what advantages were hereby adminiſtred all along to the Common Enemy, and what Sufferings Peaceable and Orthodox Chriſtians were expoſed unto from their peeviſh and angry Brethren. And tho theſe things, with the heats begotten among all, and the Calamities undergone by one ſide, were not the cauſe of that funeſtous War betwixt *Charles* the Firſt, and the Parliament, yet they were an occaſion of diverting thouſands from the ſide which the perſecuting Church Men eſpouſed, and of engaging them in the behalf of the two Houſes, in the Quarrel which they begun and carried on againſt that Prince, for Defence of the Civil Liberties, Privileges, and Rights of the People. But ſome of the Mitred Clergy were ſo far from being made wiſe by their own and the Nations Sufferings, as upon their Reſtoration to hearken to moderate Counſels, and to decline their former Rigors and Severities, that they became the Tools and Inſtruments of the Court, not only far reviving, but for heightning and enflaming all the Differences, which had formerly been among Engliſh Proteſtants. For the Royal Brothers finding nothing more adapted and ſubſervient than this, to their deſign of altering the Government, and ſubverting Religion, they animated thoſe waſpiſh and impolitick Eccleſiaſticks, not only to purſue the Reſtoration of all thoſe things which had given riſe and occaſion to former Diſſentions and Perſecutions, but to lay new ſnares for alienating many perſons of unſpotted lives and tender conſciences from the Church, and of rendring them obnoxious to ſuffer in their Names, Perſons, and Eſtates. And what a ſatisfaction was it to the late King and his Brother, to find the old Epiſcopal Clergy prepared through principles of revenge, as well as from love of domination, ambition, and covetouſneſs to fall in with the deſign not only of increaſing Diviſions among Proteſtants, both by making the conditions of entring upon the Paſtoral Function narrower and for ſcrewing conformity with the Church in her Forms and Ceremonies of Worſhip, into Teſts for admiſſion to Magiſtracy and Civil Truſts, but of obtaining ſeverer Laws againſt Diſſenters, whereby the penalties to which they foreſaw that people would become liable, were rendered greater than they had been before, and their Sufferings made more mercileſs, inhuman and barbarous.

For tho his late Majeſty had by a Declaration dated at *Breda*, promiſed Indulgence to all Proteſtants that would live peaceably under the Civil Government; yet it was never in his thoughts to perform it, and the previous obligations which he was under to the Church of *Rome*, had a vertue to ſupercede and cancel his Engagements to Engliſh Hereticks. And all he intended by that Declaration was only to wheedle and lull thoſe into a tameneſs of admitting his Return into his Dominions, whom a jealouſie of being afterwards perſecuted for their Conſciences, might have awakened to withſtand and diſpute it. And to give him his due, he never judged himſelf longer bound to the obſervation of Promiſes and Oaths made to his People, than until without hazard to his Perſon and Government he could violate and break them. Accordingly he was no ſooner ſeated in the Throne of his Anceſtors, and thoſe whom he had been apprehenſive of reſiſtance and diſturbance from, put out of capacity and condition of attempting any thing againſt him, but he thought himſelf diſcharged from every thing, that the Royal Word and Faith of a Prince had

had been pledged and laid to ſtake for in that Declaration, and from that day forward acted in direct oppoſition to all the parts and branches of it. For having ſoon after his return obtained a Parliament moulded and adapted both to his Arbitrary and Papiſh Ends, he immediately ſet all his Inſtruments at work for the procuring ſuch Laws to be enacted, as might divide and weaken Proteſtants, and thereby make us not only the more eaſie a Prey to the Papiſts, but afford them an advantage through our Scuffles, of undermining our Religion with the leſs notice and obſervation. How ſuch perſons came to be choſen and to conſtitute the majority of the Houſe of Commons, who by their actings have made themſelves infamous and execrable to all ages, were a matter too large to penetrate at preſent into the reaſons of: but that which my Theme conducts me to obſerve, is, that as they ſacrificed the Treaſure of the Nation to the profuſeneſs and prodigality of the Prince, and our Rights and Liberties to his Ambition and arbitrary Will, ſo they both reintroduced and eſtabliſhed thoſe things which have been a means of dividing us, and by many ſevere and repeated Laws, they ſubjected a great number of induſtrious Engliſh Men and true Proteſtants, to Excommunications, Impriſonments, rigorous and multiplied Fines, and all this for matters only relating to their Conſciences, and for their Obedience to God in the Ordinances of his Worſhip and Houſe. And notwithſtanding the late Kings often pretended compaſſions to the Fanaticks, it will be hard to diſcern them, unleſs in effects which proceed from very different and oppoſite principles. The diſtance which hekept them from his Perſon and favor; the influencing theſe members of both Houſes that depended upon him, to be the Authors and Promoters of Severities againſt them; the enjoyning ſo often the Judges and Juſtices of Peace to execute the Laws upon them in their utmoſt Rigor; the inſtigating the Biſhops and Eccleſiaſtical Courts, if at any time they relented in their proſecutions, to purſue them with freſh Citations and Cenſures; the arraigning them not only upon the Statutes made intentionally againſt Diſſenters, but upon thoſe that were originally and ſolely enacted againſt the Papiſts; theſe and other procedures of that nature are the only prooſs and evidences which we can find, of the late Kings Bowels, Pity, and Tenderneſs to the Fanaticks. And whereas the weak Church-Men were impoſed upon to believe, that all the Severity againſt the Nonconformiſts, was the Fruit of his Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion, and for the Security of the Worſhip and Diſcipline eſtabliſhed by Law; they might have eaſily diſcovered, if paſſion, prejudice, wealth and honor, had not blinded them, that all this was calculated for ends perfectly deſtructive to the Church, and inconſiſtent with the ſafety and happineſs of all Proteſtants. For as his ſeeking oftner than once to have wriggled himſelf into a power of ſuperceding and diſpenſing with thoſe Laws, and ſuſpending their Execution, plainly ſhews that he never intended the ſupport and preſervation of the Church by them; ſo his non-execution of the Laws againſt Papiſts, his conniving at their encreaſe; his perſuading thoſe neareſt unto him to reconcile themſelves to the Sea of *Rome*, as he did among others the late Duke of *Monmouth*; his countenancing the *Roman* Catholicks in their open and intolerable Inſolencies, and his advancing them to the moſt gainful and important Places and Truſts, ſufficiently declare that he never had any love to Proteſtants, or care of the Reformed Religion; but that all his deſigns were of a contrary tendency, and his faireſt pretences for the protection and grandeur of the Church of *England* adapted to other ends. Thus the Royal Brothers having obtained ſuch Laws to be enacted whereby one party of Proteſtants was armed with means of oppreſſing and perſecuting all others, neither the neceſſity of their affairs at any time ſince, nor the application and interpoſure of ſeveral Parliaments for removing the grounds of our Differences and Animoſities by an indul-

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gence to be paſt into a Law, could prevail either upon his late Majeſty or the preſent King to forego the advantage they had gotten of keeping us in mutual enmity & thereby of miniſtring to their projection of ſupplanting our religion, & of reeſtabliſhing the Faith, & Worſhip of the Church of Rome. Hereupon the laſt King not only refuſed to conſent to ſuch Bills as diverſe late Parliaments had prepared for indulging Diſſenters, & of bringing them into an union of Counſels, & conjunction of intereſt, with thoſe of the Church of England, for reſiſting the conſpiracies of the Papiſts againſt our legal Government & eſtabliſhed Religion; but he rejected an addreſs for ſuſpending the execution of the penal Laws againſt Fanaticks, which was offered & preſented unto him by that very Parliament which had framed & enacted thoſe cruel & villanous Laws.

And as the Royal Brothers have made it their conſtant buſineſs to Cheriſh a diviſion & rancour among Proteſtants, and to provoke one party to perſecute & ruine an other, ſo nothing could more naturally fall in with the deſign of Arbitrarineſs, or be more ſubſervient to the betraying the Nation to Papal Idolatry & Juriſdiction. For ſevere penal Laws againſt a conſiderable Body of the people, do either expoſe them againſt whom they are enacted, to be deſtroyed by the Prince with whom the executive power of the Law is truſted and depoſited, or they prove a temptation to ſuch as are obnoxious, of reſigning themſelves in ſuch a manner to the will and pleaſure of the Monarch, for the obtaining his connivency at their violation of the Laws, as is unſafe and dangerous for the common liberty, and good of the Kingdom. For in caſe the Supream Magiſtrate purſue an intereſt diſtinct from and deſtructive to that of his people, they who the Law hath made liable to be oppreſſed, are brought under inducements of becoming ſo many Partiſans for abetting him in his deſignes, in hopes of being thereupon protected from the penal Statutes, the execution whereof is committed to him. And as it is not agreeable to the wiſdom & prudence which ought to be among men, nor to the mercy & compaſſion which ſhould be among Chriſtians, for one party to ſurrender an other into the hands & power of the Soveraign to be impoveriſhed & ruined by him at his pleaſure, eſpecially when thoſe whom they give up to be thus treated & entertained, are at agreement with them in all the Eſſentials of Religion, equally zealous as themſelves for the Liberties of their Country, & who for ſobriety in their lives, induſtry in their callings, & uſefulneſs in the Commonwealth, are inferior to none of their Fellow Subjects: ſo it is obvious to any who give themſelves leave to think, that the King would long ere this have been ſtated in the abſoluteneſs that is aſpired after, & both Church and State reduced to ly at the diſcretion of the Monarch, provided the Nonconformiſts, for procuring his favour in non-execution of the Laws, had ſuffered themſelves to be prevailed upon, and drawn over to ſtand by and aſſiſt him in his Popiſh and Deſpotical Deſigns.

But thoſe people, tho hated and maligned by their Brethren, rather than be found aiding the King in his uſurpations over the Kingdom, have choſen to undergoe the utmoſt calamities they could be made ſubject unto, either through the execution of thoſe Laws which had been made againſt them, or through our Princes & their Miniſters wrecking their malice upon them in arbitrary and illegal methods. But what the Royal Brothers could not work the afflicted and perſecuted ſide unto, they found the art to engage the other ſide in, tho not only excepted from all obnoxiouſneſs to thoſe Laws, but ſtrenthened & ſupported by them. For as ſoon as the Court begun to deſpaire of prevailing upon the Fanaticks, to become their Tools & Inſtruments of enſlaving the Nation, and of exalting the Monarchy to a deſpotical abſoluteneſs, they applyed to Some of the Church of England, whom by gratifying with a vi-

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gerous execution of the Laws upon Diſſenters, they brought to abett, applaud, and juſtify them, in all thoſe counſels and ways which have reduced us into that miſerable condition wherein we now are. The Clergy being advanced to grandure and opulency, things which many of them are fonder of, and loather to forego, than Religion and the Rights of the Nation, the Court made it their buſineſs to poſſeſs them with a belief, that unleſs the Fanaticks were ſuppreſſed and ruined, they could not enjoy with ſecurity their dignities and wealth. Whereupon not only the leſſer Levites, but the ſuperior Clergy having their leſſon and cue given them from Whitehall and St James, fell upon purſuing the Nonconformiſts with Eccleſiaſtical puniſhments, and upon exciting and animating the Civil Officers againſt them. And under pretence of preſerving and defending the Church, they gave themſelves over to an implicit ſerving of the Court, and became not only Advocates but Inſtruments for the robbing of Corporations of their Charters, for impoſing Sheriffs upon the City of London who had not been legally elected, and of fining and puniſhing men Arbitrarily for no crime, ſave the having aſſerted their own and the Nations Rights in modeſt and lawful ways. Poſterity will hardly believe that ſo many of the prelatical Clergy, and ſo great a number of members of the Church of England, ſhould from an enmity unto, and pretended jealouſie of the Fanaticks, have become Tools under the late King for juſtifying the Diſſolution of ſo many Parliaments, the invaſion made upon their privileges, the ridiculing and ſtifling of the Popiſh plot, the ſhamming of forged Conſpiracies upon Proteſtants, the condemning ſeveral to death for high Treaſon who could be rendred guilty by the Tranſgreſſion of no known Law, and finally for advancing a Gentleman to the Throne, who had been engaged in a conjuration againſt Religion and the legal Government, and whom three ſeveral Parliaments would have therefore excluded from the Right of Succeſſion. And being ſeduced into an eſpouſal of the Intereſts of the Court againſt Religion, Parliaments, and the Nation, it is doleful to conſider what Doctrines both from pulpit and preſs, were thereupon belched forth and divulged. Such as Monarchy's being a Government by divine Right; that it is in the Princes power to Rule as he pleaſeth; that it is a grace and condeſcention in the King to give an account of what he does; that for Parliaments to direct or regulate the Succeſſion borders upon Treaſon, and is an offence againſt the Law of Nature; and that the only thing left to ſubjects in caſe the King will Tyranniſe over their Conſciences, Perſons & Eſtates, is tamely to ſuffer, and as they abſurdly expreſs it, to exerciſe paſſive obedience. So that by corrupting the minds & conſciences of men with thoſe peſtilent and ſlaviſh Notions, they betrayed the Nation both to the miſchiefs which have already overtaken us, & to what further we are yet threatned with. Nor did theſe Doctrines tend meerly to the fettering & enfeebling the Spirits of men, but they were a temptation to the Royal Brothers to put in execution what they had been ſo long contriving and travelling with, and were a kind of reprimanding them for being ignorant of their own Right and power, and for not exerting it with that vigour and expedition which they might. I do acknowledge that there were many both of the ſacred order, and of the laick Communion of the Church of England, who were far from being infected with thoſe brutiſh ſentiments and opinions, and who were as zealous as any for having the Monarchy kept within its ancient limits; Parliaments maintained in their wonted Reverence and Authority; the ſubjects preſerved in the enjoyment of their immemorial privileges; and who were far from ſacrificing our Religion and Laws to Popery & Arbitrarineſs, and from lulling us into a tameneſs and lethargy, in caſe the Court ſhould attempt the aboliſhing the eſtabliſhed Doctrin and Worſhip, and the ſubverting and changing the Civil Government. Eurialus! be-

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ſides their being immediately branded with the name of conformable Fanaticks, and regiſtred in the Kalendes with thoſe that ſtood precluded the Kings favour & merited his animadverſion; their modeſty was ſoon drowned and ſilenced in the loud noiſe of their clamorous Brethren, and their retiredneſs from converſation, while the others frequented all places of ſociety and publick concourſe, deprived the Nation of the benefit of their example, and the happineſs of their inſtructions. Nor have I mentioned the extravagancies of any of the Eccleſiaſticks and members of the Church of England, with a deſign either of reproaching and upbraiding them, or of provoking and exaſperating the Fanaticks to reſentments, but only to ſhew how fatal our diviſions have been unto us, what exceſſes they have occaſioned our being hurried and tranſported into, and what miſchievous improvement our enemies have made of them to the ſupplanting and almoſt ſubverting, of all that is valuable unto us as we are Engliſhmen, Chriſtians, and Proteſtants.

And as our animoſities through our Diviſions gave the Court an advantage of ſuborning that party, which they pretended to befriend and uphold, into a miniſtration to all their Counſels and projections againſt our Religion and Laws; ſo by reaſon of the unnatural heats wherewith Proteſtants have been enflamed and enraged againſt Proteſtants, many weak, ungrounded, and unſtable Souls, have been tempted to queſtion the truth of our Religion, and to apoſtatiſe to the Church of Rome, and thereupon have become united in inclination, power, and endeavours with the Court and our old Enemies the Papiſts, for the exſtirpation of proteſtancy and the alteration of the Government. As it hath been matter of offence and ſcandal to all Men, ſo it hath been ground of ſtumbling and falling unto many, to ſee thoſe who are profeſſedly of the ſame Religion, to be mutually embittered againſt one another, and ſo far tranſported with malice and rage, as to ſeek and purſue each others deſtruction. For ſuch a carriage and behaviour are ſo contrary to the ſpirit and principles of Chriſtianity, and to the genius and temper of true Religion, that it is no marvaile, if perſons ignorant of the holy Scriptures, and ſtrangers to the converting and comforting vertue of the Doctrine of the Goſpel aſſerted in our Confeſſions, and inſiſted upon by our Divines; ſhould ſuſpect the Orthodoxy of that Religion which is accompanied with ſo bitter fruits, even in the Diſpenſers of the word as well as in others, and betake themſelves to the Communion of that Church, where how many and important ſoever their differences be one with an other, yet they do not break forth into thoſe flames of excommunicating and perſecuting each other; that ours have done. How have ſome among us through having their ſpirits fretted and exaſperated by the craft and cunning of our Enemies, not only loaded and ſtigmatiſed their Bretheren and Fellow Proteſtants with crimes and Names, which were they true and deſerved, would juſtly render us a loathing and an abomination to mankind, but have libelled and branded thoſe whom God had honored to be inſtruments of the Reformation, with appellations and characters fit to beget a deteſtation of their Doctrine, as well as their Memory. The worſt that the Papiſts have forged and vomited out againſt Luther, Zwinglius, Calvin &c. hath been raked up and repeated to the diſparagment of the Reformation, and to the ſcandaliſing the minds of weak men againſt it. And as the Jeſuites and Prieſts have improved thoſe ſlanders and calumnies to the ſeduction of diverſe from the Church of England, and to a working them over to a Reconciliation with the Church of Rome; ſo the Court hath there by had an increaſe of their Faction and party againſt our Religion and Liberties, and have been inabled to muſter Troops of Janiſaries for their Deſpotical and unlimited claim.

Nor have our Diviſions with the heats, animoſities, revilings, & perſecutions that have enſued thereupon, proved only an occaſion of the ſeduction of ſeveral from our Religion, and of their Apoſtacy to Popery, but they have been a main ſpring & force of the debauchery, irreligion and Atheiſme, which have overſpread the Nation, & have brought ſo many both to an indifferency and unconcernedneſs for the Goſpel and all that is vertuous and noble, and have diſpoſed them to fall in with thoſe that could countenance and protect them in their impiety and prophaneneſs, & feed their luxury and pride with honor and gain. What a woful ſcheme of Religion have we afforded the world, and how ſhamefully have we painted forth and repreſented the holy Doctrin of the bleſsed Jeſus, while we have not only lived in a direct oppoſition to all the commands of meekneſs, love and mutual forbearance, which our Religion lays us under the Authority off, but have neglected to practice good manners, to obſerve the rules of Civility, to treat one another with common humanity & to do as we would be done unto. While we have been more offended at what ſeemed to ſupplant our Dominations & Grandures than at what diſhonor'd God & reproached the Goſpel; while we weighd not ſo much whether they whom we took into our ſacred Communion as well as into our perſonal friendſhip, were conformable in their lives to the Scripture, as whether they comply'd with the Canons of the Church; while we reprobated all that were not of our way, tho never ſo vertuous & devout, and ſainted all that were, tho never ſo wicked & prophane; while we branded ſuch for Fanaticks, whom we could juſtly charge with nothing, ſave the not admiting that into Religion which came not from the divine Author of it, & hugged thoſe for good and orthodox believers, that would ſooner conſult the Statute Book for their practice in the Worſhip of God, than the Bible; while we haled thoſe to priſon & ſpoiled them of their Eſtates, tō whom nothing could be objected except their being too preciſe and conſcientious in avoiding that through fear & apprehenſion of ſinning, which others had a liberty & latitude to do as judging it lawful, and in the mean time eſteemed thoſe worthy of the chiefeſt Truſts in the Church & commonwealth, whoſe folly & villanies made them unfit for civil Societies; while they who lived moſt agreeably to the Laws of God, & the example of Chriſt, were perſecuted as Enemies to Religion and the peſts of the Kingdom, and in the interim too many of the very Clergy were not only countenancers of the moſt profligate perſons as their beſt friends, but joined and aſſiſted in ſcandalous debaucheries, under pretence of ſuſtaining the honor of their Tribe, & doing ſervice to the Church. I ſay while theſe were unhappy but too obvious fruits of our Diviſions & of the bitter heats that accompanied them, how was the reverence for the ſacred Order leſſened & diminiſhed, the veneration for Religion weakned and loſt, the ſhame & dread of appearing profane & wicked removed and baniſhed, & ſuch who took the meaſures of Chriſtianity from the practices of thoſe that were ſtiled Chriſtians, rather than from the immaculate and holy Scriptures, tempted to think all Religion a juggle, & prieſthood but an artifice & craft to compaſs honor & wealth. And tho nothing but a ſhortneſs of underſtanding, and an immoderate love to their luſts, could occaſion the drawing ſuch a concluſion from foregoing premiſſes, yet I muſt needs grant that there was too juſt ground adminiſtr'd to them of ſaying that many did not believe that themſelves, the Faith whereof they recommended to others. But that which I would more particularly obſerve, is, that it is from among thoſe who by the foregoing occaſion have been tempted to debauchery & irreligion, that the Romiſh Emiſſaries have made the harveſt of proſelytes & converts to the Church of Rome. For as they who fear not God, will be eaſily brought to imitate Cæſar, & ſuch who are of no Religion, will

in ſubſerviency to ſecular ends aſſume the mask and profeſſion of any ; ſo Popery is extreamly adapted to the wiſhes and deſires of wicked and profane men, in that it provides for their living as enormouſly as they pleaſe here,& flatters them with hopes & aſſurances of bleſſedneſs hereafter. They who can be aſcertained of going to Heaven upon the confeſſing their ſins to a Prieſt, and their receiving Abſolution, the Euchariſt and Extreme Unction, need not look after Repentance toward God, Converſion to holineſs, nor a life, of Faith, Love, Mortification, and Obedience, which the Proteſtant Religion, upon the Authority of the Goſpel obligeth them unto, in order to the obtaining of eternal happineſs. And as the late Apoſtates to Popery in England, are chiefly ſuch who were Notorious for looſneſs, prophaneſs and immorality,and were the ſcandal of our Religion while they profeſſed it, and while in our Church were not properly of it,ſo it is from among men of this ſtamp & character that his late Majeſty and the preſent King have found perſons aſſiſting and ſubſervient to their Deſpotical and Arbitrary deſigns.For whoſoever takes a ſurvey of the Court Faction,& conſidereth who have been the Advocates for encroachments upon our Liberties,and abetters of uſurpation over our Right,they will find them to have been principally the profligate and debauched among the Nobility and Gentry,the Mercenary, ignorant & ſcandalous among the Clergy, the offſcouring and ſuch as are an ignominy to humane Nature among the yeomanry and peſants. And it was in order to this villanous End, that the Royal Brothers have endeavoured ſo induſtriouſly to debauch the Nation,& have made ſenſuality & profaneneſs the qualifications for preferment,& the badges of Loyalty. And if among thoſe that appear for the preſervation of the Liberties of their Country, there be any that deſerve to be ſtiled Enemies to Religion and vertue, as I dare affirm that they owe their immoralities to Court Education, Converſe & Example, ſo I hope that though they have not hitherto been all of them ſo happy as to have left their vices where they learned them, yet that they will not continue to diſparage the good cauſe which they have eſpouſed with an unſuitable life,nor give their Adverſaries reaſon to ſay,that while they pretend to ſeek the Reformation of the State,they are both the deriders of ſobriety & virtue, without which no Conſtitution can long ſubſiſt,& guilty of ſuch horrid Oaths,Curſing,imprecations, blaſphemies and uncleanneſſes, which naturally as well as morally and meritouſly diſpoſe Nations to ſubverſion and Extirpation.

Finally being through the bitter effects which have enſued upon our Diviſions,made apprehenſive & jealous one of another, it hath from thence come to paſs, that while the care of the Conformiſts hath been to watch againſt the grouth of the Diſſenters,& the ſolicitude of the Nonconformiſts hath been how to prevent the rage of theBigotted Church men,the Papiſts in the mean time without being headed or obſerv'd have both incredibly multiplied, & made conſiderable advances in their deſigns of ruining us. For whenſoever the Court was to take a ſignal ſtep towards Popery & Arbitrary power,there was a clamor raiſed of ſome menacing boldneſs of the Fanaticks. And if the Nation grew at any time alarm'd,by reaſon of the favor ſhewn to Roman Catholicks, & of ſome viſible progreſs made towards the Kings becoming Deſpotical, all was immediatly huſht with a ſhout and cry of the Government and Churches being in eminent hazard from the Diſſenters. Yea whenſoever the Papiſts & their Royal Patrons ſtood detected of having been conſpiring againſt our Religion & Civil Liberties, all was diverted & ſtiffled by putting the Kingdom upon a falſe ſcent, and by hounding out their Beagles upon the Nonconformiſts. So that the eyes & minds of Proteſtants being employed in reſerence to what was to be apprehended & feared from one ano-

other, the workings of our Popiſh Enemies either eſcaped our obſervation, or were heeded by moſt only with a ſuperficial and unaffective glance. And while our Church men ſtood prepoſſeſſed by the Court with a dread and jealouſie of the Fanaticks, all that was ſaid and written of a Conſpiracy carried on by the Papiſts againſt our Laws and Religion, was entertained and repreſented by the prejudiced Clergy, as an Artifice only of the Diſſenters for compaſſing an Indulgence from the Parliament, which in caſe ſuch a plot had obtained the belief that a matter of ſo great danger and conſequence required, would have been eaſily granted, being the only rational expedient for the preſervation of the eſtabliſhed Religion and the legal Government. Nor did our Enemies queſtion but that having enflamed our Diviſions and raiſed our Animoſities to ſo great a height, rather than the one party would lay aſide their ſeverities, and the other let fall their reſentments, we would even be contented to lye at their mercy, and ſubmit our ſelves to the pleaſure and diſcretion of the Court and Papiſts. And there have not wanted ſome peeviſh, fooliſh, and ill men of both parties, who rather than ſacrifice their ſpleen and paſſion, and abandon their particular Quarrels for the intereſt and ſafety of the whole, would be inclined to expoſe the Proteſtant Religion and Engliſh Liberties, to the hazards wherewith they are apparently threatned, and to ſuffer all extremities, meerly to have the ſatisfaction of ſeeing thoſe whom they reſpectively hate, involved with them under the ſame miſeries. But as this is ſuch a degree of madneſs and infatuation, as can proceed from nothing but brutiſh rage, and argues no leſs than a Divine *Nemeſis*; ſo I hope they are but few that ſtand infected with theſe paſſionate ſentiments and inclinations, and remain thus hardned in their mutual prejudices. And to thoſe I have nothing to ſay, nor the leaſt advice to adminiſter, but ſhall leave them to their own follies, as perſons to whoſe conviction no Diſcourſe tho never ſo rational can be adapted, and whom only ſtripes can work upon.

'Tis to ſuch therefore as are capable of hearkning to Reaſon, & who are ready to embrace any Counſel that ſhall be found adjuſted to the Common Intereſt, that I am to addreſs what remains to be repreſented and ſaid in the following leaves. For all parties of Proteſtants having ſeen, how far our Enemies have improved our diviſions and rancours to the compaſſing their wicked and ambitious deſigns, and the robbing us of all, that good & generous men account valuable, they are at laſt convinced of the neceſſity we are reduced unto, of altering the meaſures of our acting towards one another, and both of laying aſide our perſecutions, and of exchanging our wranglings among our ſelves, into a joint contending for the Faith of the Goſpel, & the Rights of the Nation. For what the Gentleman now in the Throne intends and aims at, is not any longer matter of meer ſuſpicion & jealouſie, but of demonſtrable evidence & unqueſtionable certainty. His maſk & vizor of zeal for the preſervation of the Church of England, and of tender regard for the Laws of the Land are laid by & put off, and his reſolutions of Governing arbitrarily, & of introducing Popery, are become obvious to all men whom Reaſon and ſenſe have not forſaken & left. The Papiſts whom it was thought much a while ago to ſee connived at in the exerciſe of their Worſhip in private Houſes, are allowed now to practice their Idolatry openly in our chief Towns, and in the Metropolitan City of the neighboring Kingdom to uſurp the publick Churches & Cathedrals. Thoſe Catholick Gentlemen whom heretofore it was matter of ſurpriſe, to ſee countenanced with the private favor of the Prince, are now advanced to the ſupream Commands in the Army, & the principal Truſt in Civil affairs. The Recuſant Lords whoſe enlargement out of the Tower, we could not but look upon as an unpreſidented violation both of Laws of the Land & of the Rights & juriſdiction of Parliament, being com-

committed thither by the Authority of the House of Lords upon a charge & impeachment of high Treason by the Commons of England in Parliament assembled, are now honored to be members of the privy Council, and exalted to be chief Ministers of State. They whom the Statutes of the Realm make subject to the severest penalties for Apostacy to Rome, are not only protected from the edge of the Law, but maintained in Parochial Incumbencies & Headships of Colledges. Our Orthodox Clergy are not only inhibited to preach against Popery, but are illegally reprimanded, silenced, & suspended, for discharching that duty, which their Consciences, Offices, Oaths, and the Laws of the Kingdom oblige them unto. And such whom neither the Ecclesiastical nor Westminster Courts, can arraign & proceed against, we have a new Court of *Inquisition* erected for the adjudging & punishing of them. So that it is not the Fanaticks who are the only persons to be stuck at and ruined, but the Conformists are to be treated after the same manner, and to share in the common lot whereunto all honest & sincere Protestants are destined & designed. Even they who were the darlings of *Whitehall* & *St. James's*, & recompenced with Honors and Titles for betraying the Rights and Privileges of Corporations, persecuting Dissenters, & heading Addresses, wherein Parliaments were reproached, the Course of Justice against Popish Offenders was slandered, the illegal & arbitrary procedures of the Court applauded and justified, & all that were zealous for our Laws and Liberties stigmatised with the names of Villains and Traitors, are now themselves, for but discouraging Popish Assemblies & attempting to put the Laws in execution against Priests who had publickly celebrated Mass, not only checkt and rebuked, but punished with seisure and imprisonment. Nor are our Religion and Civil Liberties meerly supplanted and undermined by illegal Tricks glossed over with the varnish of judicial Forms, but they are assaulted & battered in the face of the Sun, without so much as a palliation to give their procedures a plausible figure. And the King being brought to a despair of managing the Parliament to his barefaced purposes of Popery & Arbitrariness, & of prevailing with them to establish Tyranny & Idolatry by Law, notwithstanding their having been as industriously packt & chosen to answer such a design, as art, bribery & Authority could reach, & notwithstanding their having been obsequious in their first Session to an excess that hath proved unsafe to themselves & the Nation, he seems resolved not to allow them to meet any more, but to set up *a la mode de France*, and to have his personal Commands, seconded with the assent of his *durante beneplacito* judges to be acknowledged and obeyed for Laws. So that they who were formerly seduced into a good opinion of him, are not only undeceived, but provoked to warm resentments for having had their credulity & easiness of belief so grossly abused. And as the converting so vast a number of well meaning but wofully deluded people, who had suffered themselves to be hoodwinked and fatally hurried to betray their Religion, Country, & Posterity, to the Ambition & Popish Bigottry of the Court, was a design becoming the Compassion, Mercy and Wisdom of God; so the methods & means whereby they are come to be enlightned & proselyted, are a signal vindication of the Sapience & Righteousness of God in all these tremendous steps of his providence, by which our Enemies have been emboldned to detect & discover themselves. For tho their continuing so long to have a good opinion of the present King, and their abetting him so far in the undermining our Religion and invading our Liberties, may seem to have proceeded not so much from their ignorance as from their obstinacy & malice; yet God who penetrates into the hearts of men, may have discovered some degrees of sincerity in their pretensions & carriages, tho accompanied with a great deal of folly & unmanlyness. Nor are the Lords ways like to ours,

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to give persons over us unteachable and irreclaimable, upon their withstanding every measure of light, and the resisting even those means which were sufficient and proper for their conviction; but he will try them by new and extraordinary methods, & see whether feeling & doleful experience may not convert those, upon whom arguments and moral evidence could make no impressions. And their being among those formerly misled and deluded Protestants, many who retained a love for their Country, a care for their posterity, and a zeal for the Gospel and Reformed Religion, even when their actions imported the contrary, & seem'd to betray them; the singling and weeding out such from among the Court Faction & party, is a compensation both for the defeatment of all endeavours for the prevention of the evils that have overtaken us, & for the distresses & calamities under which we do at present lye & groan. And if there be joy in Heaven upon the conversion of a Sinner, with that thankfulness to God, & joy in themselves, should they who have so many years wrestled against the encreachments of Popery & Arbitrariness, & who have deeply suffered in their Names, Persons and Estates upon that account, welcome & embrace their once erring & misled but now enlightned, reclaimed and converted Brethren. And instead of remembring or upbraiding them with the opposition and rancour which they expressed against our persons, principles, & ways, let there be no language heard from us, but what may declare the joy we have in our selves for their conversion, and the entire trust & confidence which we put in them. For tho as to many things which might have been hindred, had they not been lulled into deep delusions, they may seem born out of due time, yet there is season enough left both for giving obstruction to what we are farther threatned with, & for recovering out of the jaws of the Enemy what he thinks he hath irretrievably swallowed and devoured.

The first duty incumbent therefore upon Dissenters towards those of the Church of England, is to believe that notwithstanding there having been many of them so long Advocates & Partizans for the Court through ignorance of what was aimed at & intended, they are nevertheless as really concerned as any others, and as truly zealous for the preservation of the Protestant Religion, & for maintaining the legal Rights & Liberties of the Subject, & when occasion shall offer will approve themselves accordingly. 'Tis a ridiculous as well as a mischievous fancie, for one party to confine all Religion only to themselves, or to circumscribe all the ancient English ardor for the common Rights of the Nation to such as are of their particular Fellowship & persuasion, there being sincere Christians, & true Englishmen among those of all judgments, & societies of Protestants, & among none more than those of the Communion of the Church of England. It were the height of wickedness as well as the most prodigious folly, to imagine that the Conformists have abandoned all fidelity to God, & cast off all care of themselves and their Country, upon a mistaken judgment of being Loyal & obedient to the King. They know as well as any, that the giving to *Cæsar* the things that are *Cæsars*, lays them under no obligation of surrendring unto him the things that are Gods, nor of sacrificing unto the will of the Soveraign the priviledges reserved unto the people by the Fundamental Rules of the Constitution, and by the Statutes of the Realm. And they understand as well as others, that the Laws of the Land are the only measures of the Princes Authority and of the Subjects Fealty, and where they give him no Right to command, they lay them under no tye to obey. And tho here & there a Dissenter have written against Popery with good success, yet they have been mostly conformable Divines who have triumphed over it in elaborate Discourses, and who have beaten the Romish Scriblers off the Stage. Nor can it be thought

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that they who have ſo accurately related and vindicated the Hiſtory, and aſſerted an defended the Doctrine of the Reformation, ſhould either tamely relinquiſh, or be wanting in all due and legal ways to uphold and maintain it. And tho one or two Fanaticks have with ſufficient ſtrength and applauſe brandiſhed their pens againſt Arbitrarineſs and in detecting the Deſigns of the Royal Brothers, yet they who have generally and with greateſt honor appeared for our Laws and Legal Government againſt the Invaſions and Uſurpations of the Court, have been Theologues and Gentlemen of the Church of *England*. Nor in caſe of further attempts for altering the Conſtitution and enſlaving the Nation, will they ſhew themſelves unworthy the having deſcended from Anceſtors, whoſe Motto in the high places of the Field was *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*. They who have ſo often juſtified the Arms of the *united Netherlands* againſt their Rightful Princes the Kings of *Spain*, and ſo unanſwerably vindicated their caſting off Obedience to thoſe Monarchs, when they had invaded their Priviledges, and attempted to eſtabliſh the *Inquiſition* over them, cannot be ignorant what their own Right and Duty is in behalf of the Proteſtant Religion and Engliſh Liberties; for the ſecurity whereof, we have not only ſo many Laws, but the Coronation Oaths and Stipulations of our Kings. And thoſe Gentlemen of the Church of *England*, who appeared ſo vigorouſly in three Parliaments for excluding the Duke of *York*, from the Succeſſion to the Crown, by reaſon of a jealouſie of what, through being a Papiſt, he would attempt againſt our Religion and Priviledges, in caſe he were ſuffered to aſcend the Throne; cannot be now to ſeek what becomes them towards him, tho actually Regnant, having ſeen and felt what before they only apprehended and feared. For if the Law that entalleth the Succeſſion upon the next of Kin, and obligeth the Subjects to admit and receive him, not only may but ought to be diſpenſed with, in caſe the Heir, through having imbib'd Principles which threaten the ſafety, and are inconſiſtent with the happineſs of the People, hath made himſelf incapable to inherit; we know by a ſhort Ratiocination how far we ſtand bound to a Prince on the Throne, who by tranſgreſſing againſt the Laws of the Conſtitution, hath abdicated himſelf from the Government, and ſtands virtually depoſed. For whoſoever ſhall offer to Rule arbitrarily, does immediately ceaſe to be King *de jure*, ſeeing by the Fundamental, Common and Statute Laws of the Realm, we know none for Supream Magiſtrate and Governor, but a limited Prince, and one who ſtands circumſcribed and bounded in his Power and Prerogative. And ſhould the Diſſenters entertain a belief that the Conformiſts are leſs concerned and zealous than themſelves for the Proteſtant Religion and Laws of the Kingdom, they would not only ſin and offend againſt the Rules of Charity, but againſt the meaſures of Juſtice, and daily Evidences from matters of Fact. For neither they nor we owe our Converſion to God, and our practical holineſs to the Opinions about Diſcipline, Forms of Worſhip, and Ceremonies, wherein we differ, but to the Doctrines of Faith and Chriſtian Obedience, wherein we agree. 'Tis not their being for a Liturgy, a Surprize, or a Biſhop, that hath heretofore influenced them to ſubſerve the Court in Deſigns tending to Abſoluteneſs, but they were ſeduced unto it upon Motives whereof they are now aſhamed, and the ridiculouſneſs and folly of which they have at laſt diſcovered. Nor is the multitude of profligate and ſcandalous perſons with which the Church of *England* is crowded, any juſt impeachment of the purity of her Doctrine in the Vitals and Eſſentials of Religion, or of the Virtue and Piety of many of her Members. For as it is her being the only Society eſtabliſhed by Law that attracts thoſe Vermin to her Boſom, ſo it is her being reſtrained by Law from debarring them, that keeps them there to her reproach, and to the grief of many

of many of her Eccleſiaſticks. Neither is it the fault of the Church of *England*, that the Agents and Factors for Popery and Arbitrary Power, have choſen to paſs under the name of her Sons; but it proceeds partly from their Malice, as hoping by that means to diſgrace her with all true Engliſhmen, as well as with Diſſenters, and partly from their Craft, in order thereby the better to conceal their Deſign, and to ſhrowd themſelves from the Cenſure and Puniſhment, which had it not been for that Mask, they would have been expoſed unto, and have undergone. And I dare affirm, that beſides the Obligations from Religion, which the Conformiſts are equally under with Diſſenters, for hindering the introduction of Popery, there are ſeveral inducements from Intereſt, which ſway them to prevent its eſtabliſhment, wherein the Fanaticks are but little concerned. For tho Popery would be alike afflictive to the Conſciences of Proteſtants of all Perſwaſions, yet they are Gentlemen and Miniſters of the Church of *England*, whoſe Livings, Revenues, and Eſtates are threatened in caſe it come to be eſtabliſhed. Nor wou'd the moſt Loyal and Obſequious Levites, provided they reſolve to continue Proteſtants, be willing that their Perſonages and Incumbencies, to which they have no leſs Right by Law, than the King hath to the Exciſe and Cuſtoms, ſhould be taken from them and beſtowed upon Romiſh Prieſts, by an Act of Diſpotical Power, and of unlimited Prerogative. And for the Gentlemen, as I think few of them would hold themſelves obliged to part with their Purſes to High-way Padders, though ſuch ſhould have a Patent from the King to rob whomſoever they encountred upon the Road; ſo there will not be many inclined to ſuffer their Mannors and Abbey-Lands, to which they have ſo good a Title, to be raviſhed from them either by Monks or Janizaries, tho authorized thereunto by the Prince's Commiſſion. Even they who had formerly ſuffered themſelves to be ſeduced to prove in a manner Betrayers of the Rights and Religion of their Country, will now (being undeceived) not only in conjunction with others withſtand the Court in its proſecution of Popiſh and Arbitrary Deſigns, but through a generous exaſperation for having been deluded and abuſed, will judg themſelves obliged in vindication of their actings before, to appear for the Proteſtant Religion and the Laws of *England*, with a Zeal equal to that wherewith they contributed to the undermining and ſupplanting of them. For they are not only become more ſenſible than they were of the Miſchiefs of Abſolute Government ſo as for the future to prize and aſſert the Priviledges reſerved unto the People by the Rules of the Conſtitution, and chalkt out for them in the Laws of the Land; but they have ſuch a freſh view of Popery both in its Hereſies, Blaſphemies, Superſtitions and Idolatries, and in the Treachery, Sanguinarineſs, Violence and Cruelty, which the Papal Principles mould, influence, and oblige men unto, that they not only entertain the greateſt Abhorrency and Deteſtation imaginable for it, but ſeem reſolved not to cheriſh in their Boſom, a thing ſo abominable to God, execrable to good Men, and deſtructive to Humane as well as to Chriſtian Societies.

Nor are the Diſſenters merely to believe that the Conformiſts are equally zealous as themſelves for the Reformed Religion and Engliſh Rights, but they are to conſider them as the only great and united Body of Proteſtants in the Kingdom, with whom all other Parties compared bear no conſiderable proportion. For tho the Nonconformiſts conſidered abſtractedly make a vaſt number of honeſt and uſeful People, yet being laid in the Scale with thoſe of the Epiſcopal Communion, they are but few and lie in a little room. And whoſoever will take the pains to ballance the one againſt the other, even where the Fanaticks make the greateſt Figure, and may juſtly boaſt of their multitude, they will ſoon be convinced that the number

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of the other doth far transcend and exceed them. And it be so in Cities and Corporations, where the greatest Bulk of Dissenters are, it is much more so in Country Parishes, where the latter bear not the proportion of one to a hundred. Nor doth the Church of *England* more exceed the other Parties in her number, than she doth in the Quality of her Members. For whereas they who make up and constitute the separate Societies, are chiefly persons of the middle Rank and Condition, the Church of *England* doth in a manner vouch, and claim all the Persons of Honor, of the Learned Professions, and such as have valuable Estates, for her Communicants. And though the other sort are as necessary in the Commonwealth, and contribute as much to its Strength, Prosperity, and Happiness, yet they make not that Figure in the Government, nor stand in that capacity of having influence upon publick Affairs: for not only the Gentlemen of both the Gowns, who by reason of their Calling and Learning are best able to defend our Religion and vindicate our Laws and Privileges with their Tongues and Pens, but they whose Estates, Reputation, and Interest, recommendeth them to be elected Members of the great Senate of the Nation, as well as they who by reason of their Honors and Baronages are hereditary Legislators, are generally, if not all, of the Communion of the Church of *England*: so that they who conform to the established Worship and Discipline, are to be look'd upon and acknowledged as the great Bulwark of the Protestant Religion in *England*, and the Hedge and Fence of our Civil Liberties and Rights. And though it be true that this great breach, made upon our Religion and Laws, is fallen out under their hand, while the poor Dissenters had neither accession to, nor were in a condition to prevent it; yet seeing their own Consciences do sufficiently load and charge them for it with Shame and Ignominy, it were neither candid, nor at this juncture seasonable, to upbraid it to them, or improve it to their dishonor and reproach. For as they have ramely look'd on and connived till our Religion and Liberties are so far undermined and supplanted, so it is they alone who are in a condition of stemming the Inundation of Idolatry and Tyranny with which we are threatned, and of repairing our Breaches, and reducing the Prerogative to its old Channel, and making Popery sneak and retreat into its Holes and Corners again. And should the Church of *England* be overthrown and devoured, what an easie Prey would the Fanaticks be to the *Romish* Cormorants. And could the King, under the Conduct of the *Jesuits*, and with the assistance of his Myrmidons, dissolve the established Worship and Discipline, they of the Separation would be in no capacity to support the Reformed Religion, nor able to escape the common Ruine and Persecution. 'Tis therefore the interest as well as the duty of the Dissenters, to help maintain and defend those Walls, within the skreen and shelter whereof, their own Hutts and Cottages are built and stand; and the rather, seeing the Conformists are at last, tho to their own Religion's and the Nations expence, become so far enlightned, as to see a necessity of growing more amicable towards them, and if not to enlarge the Terms of their Communion, yet to grant an Indulgence to all Protestants that differ from them. And as we ought to admire the Wisdom of God in those Providences, by which Protestants are taught to lay aside their Animosities, and to let fall their Persecutions of one another; so it would be a contradiction both to the Principles and repeated Protestations of Dissenters, to aim at more than such a Liberty as is consistent with a National Ecclesiastick Establishment. Yea it were to proclaim themselves both Villains and Hypocrites, not to allow their Fellow Protestants the exercise of their Judgments, with what farther Profits and Emoluments the Law will grant them, provided themselves may be discharged from all obnoxiousness to Penalties and Censures upon the account of their Consciences, and be admitted a free and publick practice of

their own reſpective Modes of Diſcipline, and be ſuffered to Worſhip God in thoſe ways which they think he hath required of and enjoyned them. And were *England* immediately to be rendered ſo happy as to have a Proteſtant Prince aſcend the Throne, and to enjoy a Parliament duely choſen, and acting with freedom, no one Party of the Reformed Religion among us, muſt ever expect to be eſtabliſhed and ſupported to the denyal of Liberty to others, much leſs to be by Law empowered to ruin and deſtroy them. Should it pleaſe Almighty God, through denying Male Iſſue to the King, to bring the Princeſs of *Orange* to the Crown, tho the Church of *England* may in that caſe juſtly expect the being preſerved and upheld as the National Eſtabliſhment, yet all other Proteſtants may very rationally promiſe themſelves an Indulgence, and that not only from the mildneſs and compaſſionate ſweetneſs of her Temper, but from the influence which the Prince her Husband will have upon her, who as he is deſcended from Anceſtors, whoſe glory it was to be the Redeemers of their Country from Papal Perſecution and Spaniſh Tyranny, ſo his Education, Generoſity, Wiſdom, and many Heroick Vertues, diſpoſe him to embrace all Proteſtants with an equal tenderneſs, and to erect his Intereſt upon the being the Head and Patron of all that profeſs the Reformed Religion. Had the late Duke of *Monmouth* been victorious againſt the Forces of the preſent King, and inabled to have wreſted the Scepter out of his hand; tho all Proteſtants might thereupon have expected, and would certainly have enjoyed an equal Freedom, without the lyableneſs of any Party to Penal Laws for matters of Religion, yet he would have been careful, and I have reaſon to believe that it was his purpoſe, to have had the Church of *England* preſerved and maintained, and that ſhe ſhould have ſuffered no alteration but what would have been to her ſtrength and glory, through an enlargement of the Terms of her Communion, and what would have been to the praiſe of her Moderation and Charity, through her being perſwaded to bear with ſuch as differed from her in little things, and could not prevail with themſelves to partake with her in all Ordinances. Upon the whole, it is both the prudence and ſafety of Diſſenters, as they would eſcape Extirpation themſelves, and have Religion conveyed down to Poſterity, to unite their ſtrength and endeavours to thoſe of the Church of *England*, for the upholding her againſt the Aſſaults of Popiſh Enemies, who purſue her Subverſion. As matters are now circumſtanced and ſtated in *England*, there is not an Affront or Injury offered or done unto her by the Court, which do not at the ſame time reach and wound the Fanaticks. 'Tis not her being for Epiſcopacy Cerimonies, and impoſed ſet Forms of Worſhip, the things about which ſhe and the Nonconformiſts differ, that ſhe is maligned and ſtruck at by the Man in power and his Popiſh Juncto; but it is for being Proteſtant, Reformed, and Orthodox, Crimes under the guilt whereof Diſſenters are equally concerned and involved. Being therefore in oppoſition to the common Cauſe of Religion, that the late Court of Inquiſition is erected over her Eccleſiaſticks, all Proteſtants ought jointly to reſent the Wrongs which ſhe ſuſtains, and not only to ſympathiſe with thoſe Dignified and lower Clergy, which are called to ſuffer, but to eſpouſe their Quarrel with the ſame warmth that we would our own.

And as we are to look upon thoſe of the Epiſcopal Communion, to be the great Bulwark of the Proteſtant Religion and Reformed Intereſt in *England*; ſo it is farther incumbent upon Diſſenters towards them, and a duty which they owe to God, the Nation, and themſelves, not to be acceſſary to any thing, through which the legal Eſtabliſhment of the Church of *England*, may by any Act of pretended Regal Prerogative be weakned and ſupplanted. I am not counſelling the Fanaticks to renounce their Principles, nor to participate with the Prelatical Church in all Ordi-

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nances on the Terms to which they have ſtraitned and narrowed their Communion. For while they remain unſatisfied of the lawfulneſs of thoſe Terms and Conditions, they cannot do it without offending God and contracting guilt upon their Souls; nor will they of the Church of *England* in Charity, Juſtice, and Honeſty, expect it from them: for whatſoever any man believeth to be ſin, it is ſo to him, and will by God be imputed as ſuch, till he be otherwiſe enlightned and convinced; nor are the Fanaticks to be falſe and cruel to themſelves, in order to be kind and friendly to them. But that which I would advice them unto, is, that after the maintaining the higheſt meaſure of love to the conformable Congregations as Churches of Chriſt, and the eſteeming their Members as Chriſtian Proteſtant Brethren, notwithſtanding the ſeveral things wherein they judge them to err and to be miſtaken, that they would not by any Act and Tranſaction of theirs, betray them into the Deſpotical Power of this Popiſh King, nor directly nor indirectly acknowledge his being veſted with an Authority paramount unto, and ſuperceding the Laws, by which the Church of *England* is eſtabliſhed in its preſent form, order, and mode of Juriſdiction, Diſcipline, and external Worſhip. Whatſoever eaſe arriveth to the Diſſenters, through the King's ſuſpending the execution of the Penal Laws, without their Addreſs and Application, they may receive it with joy and humility in themſelves, and with thankfulneſs to God; nor is there hereby any prejudice offered on their part to the Authority of the Law, or offence or injury given or done to the Conformable Clergy. Nor is it without grief and regret that the Church-men are forced to behold the haraſſing, ſpoiling, and impriſonment of the Nonconformiſts, while in the mean time the Papiſts are ſuffered to aſſemble to the celebration of their Idolatrous Worſhip without cenſure and controul. And were it in their power to remedy it, and give relief to their Proteſtant Brethren, they would with delight and readineſs embrace the occaſion and opportunity of doing it. But alas! inſtead of having an advantage put into their hand, of contributing to the relief of the Fanaticks, which I dare ſay many of them ardently wiſh and deſire, they are compelled, contrary to their Inclination as well as their Intereſt, to become inſtrumental in perſecuting and oppreſſing them. Nor does the King covet a better and a more legal Advantage againſt the Conformiſts, than that they would refuſe to purſue Diſſenters, and decline moleſting them with Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures and Civil Puniſhments: ſo that their Condition is to be pitied and bewailed, in that they are hindred from Acting againſt the Papiſts, though both enjoined by Law, and influenced thereunto by motives of Self-preſervation, as well as by ties of Conſcience; while in the mean time they are forced to proſecute their Fellow Proteſtants, or elſe to be ſuſpended and depoſed, and put out of their Offices and Employs. And though I do believe, that they would at laſt have more Peace in themſelves, and be better accepted with God in the great day of their account, ſhould they refuſe to diſturb and proſecute their Proteſtant Brethren, and ſcorn to be any longer Court Tools for weakning and undermining the Reformed Cauſe and Intereſt; yet I ſhall leave them to act in this as they ſhall be perſuaded in themſelves, and as they ſhall judge moſt agreeable to Principles of Wiſdom and Conſcience. In the interim, the Fanaticks have all the reaſon in the World to believe, that the Proceedings of the Clergy and Members of the Church of *England* at this ſeaſon and juncture againſt them, are not the Reſults of their Election and Choice, but the effects of moral compulſion and neceſſity. Nor will any Diſſenter that is prudent and diſcreet, blame them for a matter which they cannot help, but bear his misfortune and lot with patience in himſelf, and with compaſſion and charity towards them, and have his Indignation raiſed only againſt the Court, which forceth them to be inſtrumental in their oppreſ-

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ſion and trouble. And inſtead of being thereby provoked to petition the King to ſuſpend the execution of the Penal Laws, or that he would by an Act of his Prerogative diſpenſe with their Meetings for religious Worſhip in defiance of them; they ought to conſider that is what the Court aims at, by commanding their conformable Brethren to moleſt and purſue them. For a power paramount and tranſcendent to the Law is what the King is uſurping, and which he would fain work his Subjects one way or another to acknowledge. The Fanaticks cannot be ſo far void of ſenſe, as to think that the perſon now in the Throne bears them any good will, but his drift is to ſcrew himſelf into a Supremacy and Abſolutneſs over the Law, and to get ſuch an Authority confeſſed to be veſted in him, as when he pleaſeth he may ſubvert the eſtabliſhed Religion, and ſet up Popery: for by the ſame power that he can diſpenſe with the Penal Statutes againſt the Nonconformiſts, he may alſo diſpenſe with thoſe againſt the *Roman* Catholicks: and whoſoever owneth that he hath a Right to do the firſt, doth in effect own that he hath a Right to do the laſt; for if he be allowed a Power for the ſuperceding ſome Laws made in reference to matters of Religion, he may challenge the like Power for the ſuperceding others of the ſame kind: and then by the ſame Authority that he can ſuſpend the Laws againſt Popery, he may alſo ſuſpend thoſe for Proteſtancy: and by the ſame Power that he can in defiance of Law indulge the Papiſts the exerciſe of their Religion in Houſes, he may eſtabliſh them in the publick celebration of their Idolatry in Churches and Cathedrals. Yea whereas the Laws that relate to Religion are enacted by no leſs Authority than thoſe that are made for the preſervation of our Civil Rights, ſhould the King be admitted to have an Arbitrary Power over the one, it is very like that by the Logick of *Whitehall* he will challenge the ſame abſoluteneſs over the other. Nor do I doubt but that the *eleven Judges* who have gratified him with a Deſpoticalneſs over the former, will, when required, grant him the ſame over the latter. I know the Diſſenters are under no ſmall Temptations, both by reaſon of being hindred from enjoying the Ordinances of the Goſpel, and becauſe of many grievous Calamities which they daily ſuffer for their Nonconformity, of making Applications to the King for ſome relief, by his ſuſpending the execution of the Laws; but they muſt give me leave to add, that they ought not, for the obtaining of a little eaſe, to betray the Kingdom, and ſacrifice the legal Conſtitution of the Government to the Luſt and Pleaſure of a Popiſh Prince, whom nothing leſs will ſerve than being Abſolute and Deſpotical. And were he once in the quiet Poſſeſſion of an Authority to diſpenſe with the Penal Laws, the Fanaticks would not long enjoy the benefit of it. Nor can they deny him a Power of reviving the execution of the Law, which is part of the Truſt depoſited with him as ſupreme Magiſtrate, who have granted him a Power of ſuſpending the Laws, which the Rules of the Government preclude him from. And as he may, whenſoever he pleaſeth, cauſe the Laws to which they are obnoxious, to be executed upon them, ſo by virtue of having an Authority acknowledged in him of ſuperceding the Laws, he may deprive them of the Liberty of meeting together to the number of Five, a Grace which the Parliament thought fit to allow them, under all the other Severities to which they were ſubjected. Nor needs there any further evidence that the Prince's challenging ſuch a Power is an Uſurpation, and that the Subjects making any Application by which it ſeems allowed to him, is a betraying of the ancient Legal Government of the Kingdom; than to conſider that the moſt obſequious and ſervile Parliament to the Court that ever *England* knew, not only denied this Prerogative to the late King, but made him renounce it by revoking his Declaration of Indulgence, which he had emitted *Anno* 1672. And as it will be to the perpetual Honor of the Diſſenters

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to have choſen rather to ſuffer the Severities which the Laws make them liable unto than by any Act and Tranſaction of theirs, to undermine and weaken either the Church or the State; ſo it will be a means both of endearing them to future Parliaments, and of bringing them and the Conformiſts into an union of Counſels and endeavours againſt Popery and Tyranny, which is at this ſeaſon a thing ſo indiſpenſably neceſſary for their common preſervation: eſpecially when, though a new and more threatning Alliance and Confederacy with *France* than that in 72, the King hath not only engaged to act by and obſerve the ſame meaſures towards Proteſtants in *England*, which that Monarch hath vouchſafed the World a Pattern and Copy of in his carriage towards thoſe of the Reformed Religion in *France*; but hath promiſed to diſturb the Peace and Repoſe of his Neighbors, and to commence a War in conjunction with that Prince againſt Foreign Proteſtants. For as the Kings giving Liberty and Protection to the *Algerines* to frequent his Havens, and ſell the Prizes which they take from the *Dutch*, is both a moſt infamous Action for a Prince pretending to be a Chriſtian, and a direct violation of his Alliance with the States General; ſo nothing can be more evident, than that he thereby ſeeks to render them the weaker for him to aſſault, and that he is reſolved (if ſome unforeſeen and extraordinary Providence doth not interpoſe and prevent) to declare War againſt them the next Summer, in order whereunto great Remiſes of Mony are already ordered him from the French Court. So that the Indulgence which he pretends to be inclinable to afford the Diſſenters, is not an effect of kindneſs and good Will, but an Artifice whereby to oblige their Aſſiſtance in deſtroying thoſe abroad of the ſame Religion with themſelves. Which if he can compaſs, it is eaſie to foreſee what Fate both the Fanaticks and they of the Communion of the Church of *England* are to expect. Who as they will not then know whither to retreat for ſhelter, ſo they will be deſtitute of Comfort in themſelves, and deprived of Pity from others, not only for having through their Diviſions made themſelves a Prey to the Papiſts at home, but for having been acceſſary to the ruine of a Reformed State abroad, and which was the Aſilum and Sanctuary of all thoſe that were elſewhere oppreſſed and perſecuted for Religion.

FINIS.